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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the growth and characteristics of the Hispanic population in Illinois and presents a case study of how a rural Illinois community and its schools are adapting to an influx of mostly Mexican immigrants. The first section discusses Mexican immigration to Illinois during the 1900s and provides racial/ethnic data on population growth in the Midwest and Illinois during the 1980s; educational attainment, 1980-95; income and poverty rates; and population change in metro and nonmetro Illinois, 1990-96. In "Anytown," a rapid influx of Hispanic workers for a new meatpacking plant has resulted in local conflicts over education, housing, and race. Hispanic students in the schools increased from less than 5 in 1993 to 350 in 1998. As school administrators became aware of the rising numbers, they responded by hiring translators, bilingual aides, and a bilingual coordinator; creating a prekindergarten class for Hispanic students; encouraging parent participation; and developing appropriate curricula and assessment methods. Teachers participated in workshops and conferences about cultural change and the classroom. As staff and administrators gained knowledge and understanding about the needs of language-minority students, they shifted toward a more student-centered philosophy and began developing bilingual and multicultural programs. Interviews with immigrants about experiences in the community, at work, and in school portray the racism encountered by culturally diverse newcomers, but also the efforts of teachers and community members to improve community relations and social integration. Contains 33 references. (SV)

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A Spatial Study of the Mobility of Hispanics in Illinois and the Implications for Educational Institutions

by Carol Fimmen, Burton Witthuhn, Jeff Crump, Michael Brunn, Gloria Delaney-Barmann, Debi Riggins, María Gutierrez, Dan Schabilion, and Britta Watters
Western Illinois University

Working Paper No. 43
November 1998

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Carol P. Fimmen serves as director of Cross-Cultural Educational Programs. She is an educator and professional of Bolivian ancestry with interdisciplinary experiences in psychology, business, administration, organizational behavior and public policy research. Central to her work is the concept of problem-based curriculum that facilitates the integration of the 21st-century workforce requirements, cultural pluralism, and curriculum for leadership development. Currently, she is working in the development of cross-cultural initiatives forging international partnerships that strengthen world understanding. Her experiences encompass teaching, training, and facilitating experiences in industry, government, and academia. She also serves on several national and statewide boards and committees.

María Gutiérrez is presently completing her Master's Degree research at Western Illinois University in the field of political science. Originally from Mexico, she studied Journalism and Mass Communications and graduated from the Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro (Autonomous University of Querétaro), Mexico. Before beginning her Master's work in the United States, she worked as a reporter and freelance writer in Querétaro for eight years.

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Dan Schabilion, a native of the Midwest, was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Panama for two years during which time he taught environmental education. He is currently a graduate student at Western Illinois University in the Peace Corps Fellows Program. His academic endeavors lie within the fields of Geography and Regional and Rural Planning. During the course of his studies, Dan has become especially interested in minority issues in rural communities and the ways in which rural communities cope with rapid change.

Britta M. Watters, an undergraduate student at Western Illinois University, has had a variety of experiences living in Latin American countries. Her research interests are interdisciplinary in nature. She continues her education and research in the area of Latin American Studies.

Burton O. Witthuhn currently serves as Provost and Academic Vice President at Western Illinois University. He is a Professor of Geography and received his Ph.D. from Pennsylvania State University. He has also served as an evaluator/ consultant for the Pennsylvania Department of Education, the Middle States Association, the North Central Association, the American Optometric Association, and the Lincoln Foundation for Business Excellence. He has also been on the editorial board of *The Chronicle of Continuous Quality Improvement* and *TQM in Higher Education*. His recent research interests have focused on strategies for timely degree completion and improvements in interinstutional articulation.

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RELATED READINGS

Fimmen, Carol P., Burton O. Witthuhn, Debi L. Riggins, and Jamie Carson. "Connecting the Parts: A Hispanic/Latino Reality for Achieving More Timely Degree Completion," *JSRI Working Paper #34*, The Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1997.

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The authors wish to express their sincere thankfulness and deep appreciation to the Anytown school district, superintendent, administration, teachers, staff and students for being so welcoming and helpful throughout the course of this project. Without their assistance, honesty and willing participation, this project would not have been successful or possible.

Also, it should be noted that Anytown's success can be attributed, in great part, to the cooperation that has existed and further developed between the school and Anytown's community leaders. Without the promise of monetary compensation or other gain, numerous individuals have worked together tirelessly and selflessly to create a safe and stable community for all, regardless of race or origin. It is hoped that others will look at this community' s struggles and successes with the understanding that positive outcomes can be achieved in the face of adversity when individuals come together for the purpose of the common good.

The Julian Samora Research Institute is committed to the generation, transmission, and application of knowledge to serve the needs of Latino communities in the Midwest. To this end, it has organized a number of publication initiatives to facilitate the timely dissemination of current research and information relevant to Latinos. The Julian Samora Research Institute Research Report Series (RR) publishes monograph length reports of original empirical research on Latinos in the nation conducted by the Institute's faculty affiliates and research associates, and/or projects funded by grants to the Institute.

A Spatial Study of the Mobility of Hispanics in Illinois and the Implications for Educational Institutions

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A Spatial Study of the Mobility of Hispanics in Illinois and the Implications for Educational Institutions

Introduction

The twenty-first state did not have a Hispanic* population when it added its star to the United States flag in December of 1818. Census profiles for Illinois through the decades suggest the first substantial demographic Hispanic population was not clearly defined as a category until the 1970 census. In the late 1800's and early 1900's, Hispanic settlements principally occurred in urbanized areas, particularly the Chicago area, drawn by the opportunity to work in low-paying service and manufacturing jobs. The first large-scale wave of Hispanic immigrants to Illinois took place with the onset of World War I, supported by the twin circumstances of an economic boom and a labor shortage. Mexican workers were actively recruited to work in the factories, agricultural industries, and the railroads. By 1928, the Mexican population represented 43% of the total labor force on the railroads. The steel and meat packing industries experienced the same growth in their workforce population and by 1926, Mexican workers represented 14% and 11%, respectively, of all workers in these Chicago area industries. Thus, the Mexican population rose dramatically in one decade from 1,224 in 1920 to 19,362 in 1930 (Betancur, Cordova, and Torres, 1993).

The second wave of Mexican immigration was initiated by another war, World War II, and the implementation of the Bracero Program in 1941. The Bracero Program was originally created as a wartime relief program to import temporary workers, but was repeatedly renewed until 1964. Due to similar economic circumstances, over 15,000 Mexicans were brought to Chicago to work on the railroads alone from 1943-1945 (Betancur, Cordova, and Torres, 1993). As a result of this steady flow of Mexican labor into Illinois, over 35,000 Hispanics were counted in the census in the Chicago area in 1950. The category nearly doubled in size each decade thereafter, and included 55,597 persons in 1960, and 106,000 in 1970. This early flow of migrants established a basis for the more substantial migration that began in the 1980's when 255,770 of the persons counted were of Mexican descent. However, of greater significance was the almost explosive population gain of Hispanics that occurred between 1990 and 1994 when this cohort of the population accounted for 32% of the population growth in Illinois. People do not just appear without cause. There need to be forces of attraction that complement the exertion of forces causing people to leave their places of origin. In this analysis, we begin by examining the demographic pattern of the Hispanic migration to Illinois and the forces which encouraged this migration and population growth and the impact it has on societal institutions.

THE TERM HISPANIC

The term Hispanic is an umbrella term created in the 1960's to refer to the over 20 ethnic groups of Spanish or Latin origin, including Spain, Central & South America and the Caribbean. The Census Bureau's official definition of Hispanic is the following:

Persons of Hispanic/Spanish origin are those who classify themselves in one of the specific Hispanic origin categories listed on the census questionnaire — Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Hispanic/Spanish origin. Persons of other Hispanic/Spanish origins are those whose origins are from Spain, the Spanish-speaking countries of Central or South America, or the Dominican Republic, so they are persons of Hispanic origin identifying themselves generally as Spanish, Spanish-American, Hispanic, Latino, etc. Origin can be viewed as the ancestry, nationality group, lineage or country of birth of the person or the persons parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. Hispanic/Spanish origin is not a racial category. Therefore, persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990)

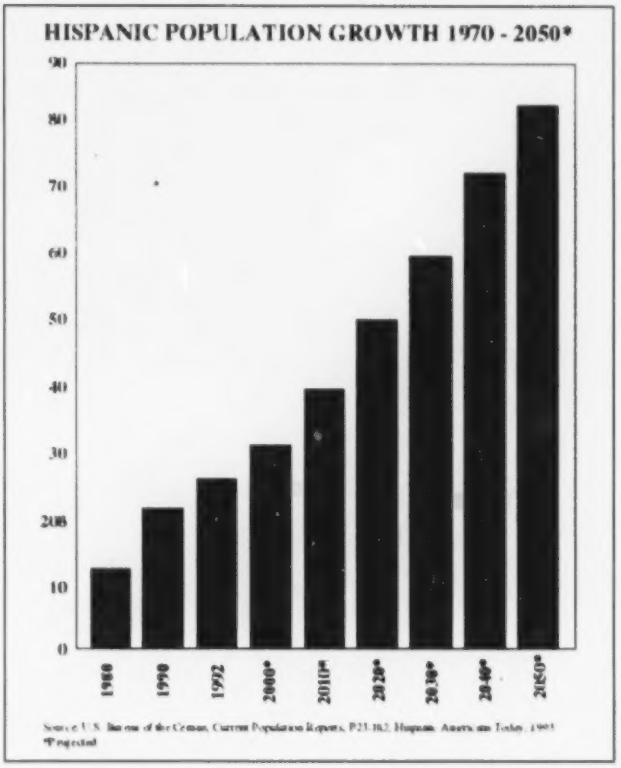
The term Hispanic is used for convenience, much the same way Asian is used to refer to the many ethnic groups from countries such as China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. It is important to note many Hispanics do not self-identify in this manner. As with other ethnic groups, many prefer recognition based on national origin, such as Puerto Rican or Venezuelan. Still others use Latino or Chicano. Within this document the term Hispanic will be used.

Population and Growth

Hispanics are the fastest growing population in the United States — a reality of much interest to researchers in the last decade. The Hispanic population has literally doubled in size since 1980. As of July 1, 1996, the total Hispanic population was estimated to be more than 28.67 million and growing, representing 1 in every 10 persons in the United States Census. **Graph 1** *Hispanic Population Growth* shows a steady growth since 1970, as well as projections for the year 2000 and every decade following until the year 2050. The United States Bureau of the Census estimates that by the year 2050, one out of every four persons will be of Hispanic origin.

While, traditionally, much of this growth has been in the West, Hispanics have migrated in large numbers to the Midwest in recent years. Demographers Marcelo Siles and Robert Aponte document the Midwest's changing demographic and economic landscape between 1980 and 1990 in their extensive research report *Latinos in the Heartland: The Browning of the Midwest* published in 1994 by the Julian Samora Institute. Based on data from the 1990 Census, they attribute more than 50% of Midwestern population growth in this decade to Hispanics.

They also cite a lack of literature and research about Hispanicsin the Midwest prior to 1990. "The Hispanic or Latino population... has traditionally maintained a settlement pattern in the U.S. mainland that, in relative terms, all but excluded the Midwest, excepting Chicago" (Aponte, 1994). Additionally, in 1990, the vast majority of Hispanics (90%) resided in urban areas of the country



(Shartrand, 1996). Local and regional researchers have documented this recent increase in Hispanic migration to the Midwest and Illinois, some citing that agribusiness industries are attracting workers (Aponte and Siles, 1994; Cantu, 1995; Snipp, 1996).

TABLE 1. POPULATION GROWTH IN THE MIDWEST BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1980-1990

1980	*% of Total*	*1990*	*% of Total*	*Difference*	*Growth*	
Total Midwest	58,865,670	100.00	59,668,632	100.00	802,962	1.36
Whites	51,510,114	87.50	51,175,270	85.77	-334,844	-0.65
Blacks	5,296,676	9.00	5,664,355	9.49	367,679	6.94
Hispanics	1,276,545	2.17	1,726,509	2.89	449,964	35.25

TABLE 2. POPULATION GROWTH IN ILLINOIS BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1980–1990

	1980	*% of Total*	*1990*	*% of Total*	*Difference*	*Growth*
Total Population	11,426,518	100.00	11,430,602	100.00	4.084	0.04
Whites	8,911,706	77.99	8,550,208	74.80	-361,498	-4.06
Blacks	1,661,909	14.54	1,673,703	14.64	11,794	0.71
Hispanics	635,602	5.56	904,446	7.91	268,844	42.30

Source Table 1 & 2: Adapted from Aponte, Robert and Marcelo E. Siles. (1994, November). Latinos in the Heartland: The Browning of the Midwest. p.43

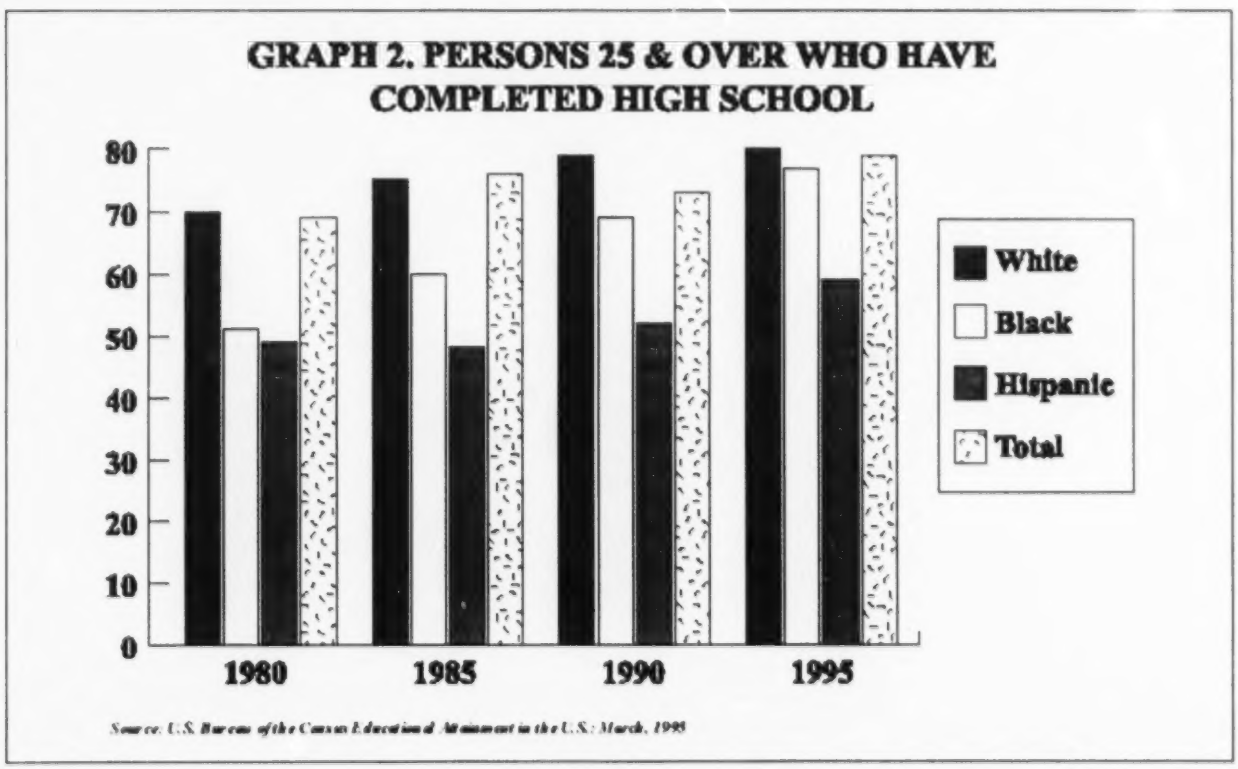
Tables 1 and 2 show the population growth in the Midwest and Illinois by Race and Hispanic Origin. In the Midwest, between 1980 and 1990, the Hispanic population grew 35.25%, while the Black population grew 6.94% and the White population decreased 0.65% during the same period. Illinois experienced an even greater growth percentage (42.3%) of Hispanics from 1980-1990 than did the Midwest. Again, while the Hispanic population grew noticeably, the Black population increased less than 1% (0.71%) and the White population decreased by 4.04%. As of 1990, Hispanics accounted for 7.91% of the total population in Illinois, up from 2.89% in 1980.

Educational Attainment

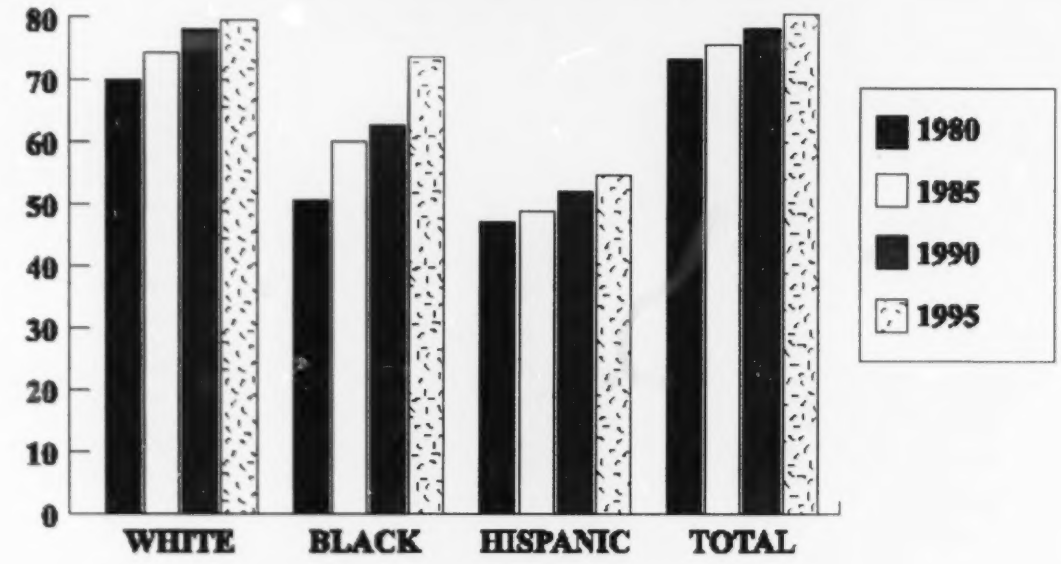
Given the latest dramatic increase in the Hispanic population, it is important to explore how Hispanics are faring nationwide in terms of educational attainment. The facts are not encouraging. Hispanics have the lowest rate of educational attainment, the highest high school dropout rates, and second highest percentage of children living in poverty of any group in the nation (Fimmen, Witthuhn, Riggins, and Carson, 1997). Consider these statistics. In 1995, of all adults 25 years or older nationwide, 82% had completed high school and 23% had earned a bachelor's degree or higher.

Looking at **Graph 2**, one can easily discern not only racial differences but that persons of Hispanic origin are experiencing a tremendous disparity in school completion. Of Hispanics 25 and older, 53.4% had completed high school as compared with 73.8% of the Blacks and 83% of the Whites. In this 1995 data, 27.1% of Hispanics, 37.5% of Blacks, and 49% of Whites had completed some college, and only 9.3 of the Hispanic population had earned a bachelor's degree, as opposed to 13.2% of Blacks and 24% of Whites (Fimmen et al., 1997). It is clear that Hispanics, by comparison, must be considered to be at-risk when looking at this national data. This is not a new pattern, but one that has persisted over a significant period of time.

The years between 1980 and 1995 have shown dramatic increases in the population of Hispanics in our nation. **Graph 3** shows national high school completion rates by Race and Hispanic origin for selected years from 1980 to 1995. In 1980, 45.3% of Hispanics 25 years and over had completed high school, which is more than 25% less than the White (70.5%) percentage. Optimists may recognize the steady improvements that are reported in all groups, most notably for Blacks who went from 51.2% in 1980 to 73.8% in 1995. Also, the almost 20% difference in high school completion rates for Blacks and Whites in 1980 narrowed to a 10% difference by 1995

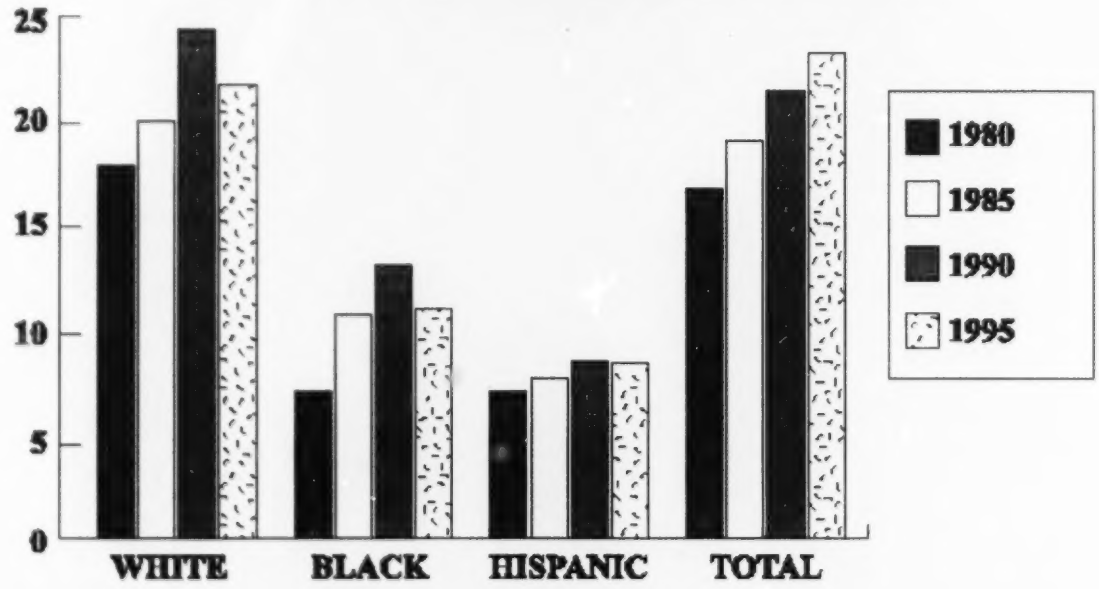


GRAPH 3. PERSONS 25 & OVER WHO HAVE COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census Educational Attainment in the U.S.: March, 1995

GRAPH 4. PERSONS 25 & OVER WHO HAVE COMPLETED A BACHELOR'S DEGREE



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census Educational Attainment in the U.S.: March, 1995

with 73.8% (Blacks) and 83% (Whites) completing high school. However, pessimists should be quick to discover, the same cannot be said for Hispanics. This gap has widened, resulting in a 30% gap between Hispanics (53.4) and Whites (83.0) who had completed high school by 1995.

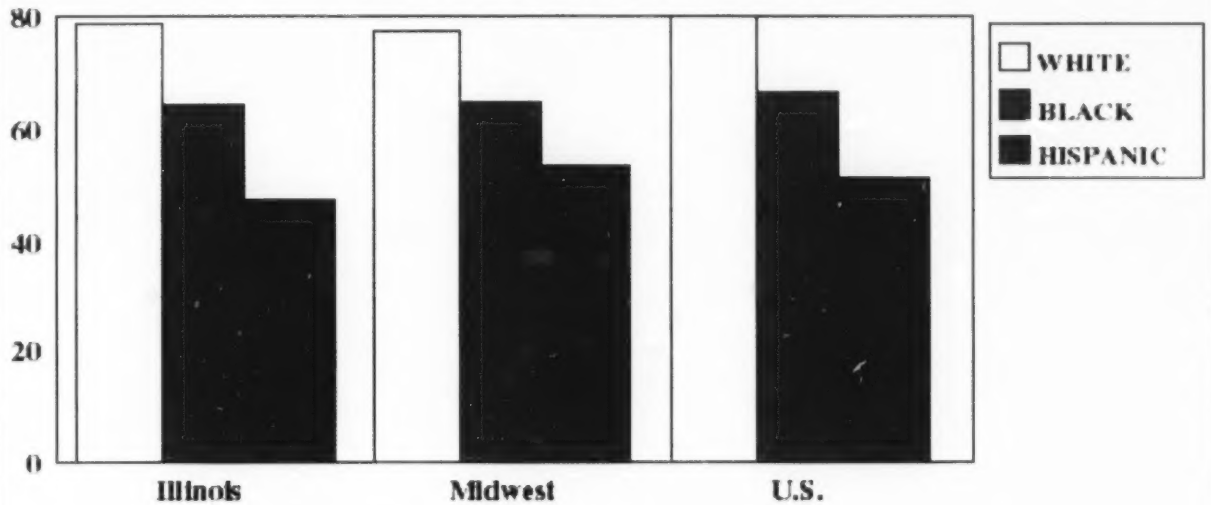
At the level of higher education, Whites are twice as likely to earn a bachelor's degree than either Blacks or Hispanics. As evidenced in tive Order 12729 the Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans. Under the direction of the Secretary of Education, this commission is charged with researching ways to advance the educational progress of Hispanic Americans (Office of the White House, 1994).

Aponte and Siles document the same statistics for Hispanics in the Midwest and Illinois (1994). In the Midwest in 1990, high school completion rates were as follows: 52.9% for Hispanics, 65.3% for Blacks and 78.6% for Whites (**Graph 5**). Attainment of Bachelor's Degrees in the Midwest (**Graph 6**) for the same year show Hispanics at 10.1%, Blacks at 10.4%, and Whites at 19.0% (Aponte and Siles, 1994). Rates for the state of Illinois in 1990 are lower for Hispanics in both categories than either the national or the regional rates. Just fewer than 45% of Illinois Hispanics graduate from high school compared to 65.16% of Blacks and 79.13% of Whites (Aponte and Siles, 1994). The rates for persons with a bachelor's degree in the state are 7.95% of Hispanics, 11.36% of Blacks and 22.36% of Whites.

Dropout Rates

The United States Department of Education Hispanic Dropout Project (HDP) was established in September of 1995 by United States Secretary of Education Richard Riley "to shed light on this national crisis, to produce concrete analyses and syntheses, and to recommend actions that can be taken at all levels in order to reduce the nation's dropout rate of Hispanic youth" (see **Table 3**). The Dropout Project released the *HDP Data Book* in 1996. The final report *No More Excuses* was completed in February of 1997 and presented to the USDE.

GRAPH 5. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN ILLINOIS AND THE MIDWEST PERSONS 25 AND OVER WHO HAVE COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL

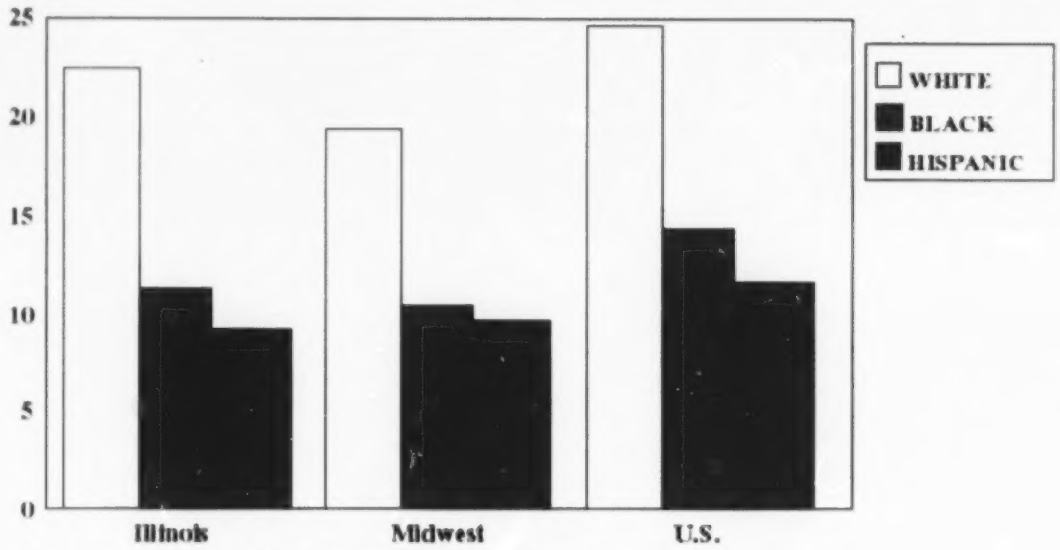


Source: Adapted from Aponte & Siles, 1994 Latinos in the Heartland: The Browning of the Midwest

TABLE 3. STATUS DROPOUT RATE FOR STUDENTS AGED 16-24, OCTOBER 1994

All Students	*11%*
White, Non-Hispanic	*8%*
Black, Non-Hispanic	*13%*
Hispanic	*30%*

GRAPH 6. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN ILLINOIS AND THE MIDWEST PERSONS 25 & OVER WHO HAVE COMPLETED A BACHELOR'S DEGREE



Source: Adapted from Aponte & Siles, 1994 Latinos in the Heartland: The Browning of the Midwest

TABLE 4. UNITED STATES ANNUAL INCOME AMD POVERTY: SELECTED YEARS

	1995	*1994*	*1993*	*1992*	*1991*	*1990*	*1980*
Income (annual) $							
Median Household Income:	34,076	32,264	31,241	30,786	30,126	31,203	29,309
White	35,766	34,028	32,960	32,368	31,569	32,545	30,921
Black	22,393	21,027	19,532	18,660	18,807	19,462	17,814
Hispanic	**22,860**	**23,241**	**22,886**	**22,848**	**22,691**	**23,270**	**22,591**
Median Family Income:	40,611	38,782	36,959	36,812	35,939	36,841	34,791
White	42,646	40,884	39,300	38,909	37,783	38,468	36,249
Black	25,970	24,698	21,542	21,161	21,548	22,325	20,974
Hispanic	**25,570**	**24,318**	**23,654**	**23,901**	**23,895**	**24,417**	**24,354**
Poverty (annual) %							
All Persons	13.8	14.5	15.1	14.5	14.2	13.5	13.0
Children under 18 years	20.8	21.8	22.7	21.9	21.8	20.6	18.3
White	9.0	10.2	10.7	11.6	11.3	10.7	10.1
Black	25.4	27.4	28.0	33.3	32.7	31.9	32.5
Hispanic	**23.5**	**22.6**	**21.4**	**29.3**	**28.7**	**28.1**	**25.7**

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1996, November). Census and You.

Economic Patterns

In 1995, 36.4 million people, or 13.8% of the total population, in the United States lived below the poverty level. Of all children under the age of 18 in the United States, 20.8% lived below the defined poverty threshold. The poverty threshold for a family of four in 1995 was an annual income of $15,569 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996). The percentage of individuals falling into the national poverty rate of 13.8% was slightly greater than the 14.5% of 1994, a statistic almost unchanged from 13.0% of the 1980's. **Table 4** provides annual income and poverty rates from 1990-1995 for persons by census classification of ethnicity.

National median household income in 1995 was $34,076. By race and Hispanic origin, the breakdown is as follows: White, $35,766; Black, $22,393; and Hispanic, $22,860. National median family income follows a similar pattern: White, $42,646; Black, $25,970; and Hispanic, $25,570. Blacks and Hispanics fall within $400 of each other for both figures. There is a difference of $13,000 between these two groups and Whites for median household income and nearly an $18,000 difference in median family income.

According to the Digest of Educational Statistics (1994), while child poverty was 21.9% for the total population in 1992, children of ethnic minorities represented a disparate percentage of those living in poverty. In this year, 16% of White children, 38.8% of Hispanic children, and 46.3% of Black children lived in poverty (Digest of Education Statistics, 1994). Rather than decreasing, by 1994, 41% of Hispanic children lived in poverty, although the total poverty rate for all persons remained constant at 14.5% and the rate of childhood poverty for all children decreased by one tenth of a percent to 21.8%. While Hispanic children represented 11.7% of all children living in the United States, they represented 21.3% of children living in poverty in 1992 (United States Bureau of the Census, 1993). Two out of every five Hispanic children live in poverty, twice the poverty rate for children of all backgrounds.

In 1989, 12% of the total Midwest population was living below the poverty level. Of that total, there was also a disproportionate number of minority persons: 21.17% of Hispanics, 32.18% of Blacks and 9.39% of Whites lived below the poverty level (Aponte and Siles, 1994). For Illinois the same year, 20.21% of Hispanics, 31.09% of Blacks, and 7.77% of Whites lived below the poverty level (Aponte and Siles, 1994).

Population and Diversity in Illinois

Having examined the overall trends of demographic change in the Midwest, we next take a closer look at the population diversity in Illinois with particular emphasis on the recent Hispanic immigration.

Since 1980, the people of rural Illinois have had to cope with enormous social and economic change. The farm crisis and loss of good paying jobs in manufacturing caused large numbers of residents to leave the region, resulting in population declines of over 10% in many counties (Crump, 1994). Since 1990 however, the indications are that rural population declines have been stemmed and rural employment has stabilized. Does this mean that rural areas have returned to the prosperous times of the 1970's?

It is important to realize that even though the numbers may indicate a return to prosperity or at least stability, rural areas today are very different from what they were 20 or even just 10 years ago. Much of the rural population growth in Illinois is the result of suburbanization as large tracts of agricultural land are converted to residential use. Furthermore, large-scale immigration of Mexicans, Laotians, Bosnians, and other ethnic groups is rapidly changing the face of rural Illinois. And, although economic development efforts have succeeded in bringing gambling boats, prisons and meat packing firms to many of Illinois' rural areas, each of these activities brings not only jobs but other changes as well.

TABLE 5. POPULATION CHANGE IN ILLINOIS, 1990 TO 1996

	WHITE	*HISPANIC*	*BLACK*	*ASIAN or OTHER*	*TOTAL*
Cook County	***-2.6%***	***20.5%***	***3.0%***	***20.8%***	***2.3%***
Metro	***7.4%***	***40.0%***	***14.2%***	***33.7%***	***9.8%***
Nonmetro	***.8%***	***32.8%***	***18.0%***	***19.3%***	***1.8%***
State	***2.4%***	***24.9%***	***5.6%***	***24.8%***	***5.1%***

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Estimates of the Population of Counties by Race/Hispanic Origin: 1990 to 1996.

The transformation of rural life in Illinois has not proceeded in a peaceful and orderly manner. Job loss and growing poverty have disrupted the lives of many rural residents. Moreover, the social and economic changes that have swept rural Illinois have resulted in an increased level of social struggle in many of our communities. In West Central Illinois, families and communities have been split by events such as the Caterpillar strike and other efforts by local workers to challenge the rapid declines in wages and benefits that are being forced on them by employers.

The purpose of the next section is twofold: first, recent population trends in Illinois are examined and second, a case study of one rapidly changing community is presented. To emphasize the fact that similar situations could arise in any community, the case study community is referred to as "Anytown."

Population change may come from three sources: births, deaths and migration. Since births and deaths are registered and the rates are relatively stable, these components of demographic change are easily estimated. Problems arise, however, in estimating migration. United States residents are not required to report movements within the country and those who are in the United States illegally are naturally reluctant to disclose their presence. Therefore, in order to estimate migration patterns, the Census Bureau uses administrative records, usually tax returns. It is clear that the estimates produced by the Census bureau are subject to many sources of error. Therefore, it is critical to use these estimates with caution, remembering that we will not have a full picture of demographic changes occurring in Illinois during the 1990's until the 2000 Census results are in.

After gaining only 1% during the 1980's, recent Census estimates indicate that Illinois' population increased by 5.1% between 1990 and 1996 (**Table 5**). The Hispanic population increased by 24.9%, and growth in the Asian population was also strong at 24.8%. In contrast, the White population increased by just 2.4% and African Americans gained by 5.6%. Within the state, metropolitan areas increased by 9.8% while the population of Cook County gained only 2.3% (**Table 5**). Perhaps the most significant trend was the resurgence of population growth in nonmetropolitan areas of the state. Reversing the population losses of the 1980-1990 period, nonmetropolitan counties of Illinois grew by 1.8% between 1990 and 1996. Although some of the growth was attributable to suburbanization, better economic conditions in rural areas of the state also contributed to a general pattern of population stabilization.

Increasing diversity was evident throughout the state. In Cook County, Hispanic and Asian populations increased by over 20%, while there was a 2.6% decline in the White population. Large increases in the Hispanic population were also evident in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties. In metro locations, there was a 40.0% increase in the Hispanic population and in nonmetro areas, this group increased by 32.8%. Rapid rates of increase were also evident for the Asian minority, which grew by 33.7% in metro counties and by 19.3% in non-metro parts of the state.

TABLE 6. ABSOLUTE CHANGE IN ILLINOIS' POPULATION, 1990 TO 1996

	WHITE		*HISPANIC*		*BLACK*		*ASIAN or OTHER*	
	1990	*1996*	*1990*	*1996*	*1990*	*1996*	*1990*	*1996*
Cook County	*61.5%*	*58.5%*	*12.0%*	*14.2%*	*22.9%*	*23.1%*	*3.6%*	*4.2%*
Metropolitan	*88.8%*	*85.0%*	*4.1%*	*5.2%*	*4.1%*	*7.3%*	*2.1%*	*2.6%*
Nonmetropolitan	*95.2%*	*94.3%*	*1.2%*	*1.6%*	*2.9%*	*3.3%*	*0.7%*	*0.8%*
State	*76.2%*	*74.2%*	*7.4%*	*8.8%*	*13.8%*	*13.9%*	*2.3%*	*3.1%*

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Estimates of the Population of Counties by Race/Hispanic Origin: 1990 to 1996.

Thus, Illinois is an increasingly diverse state with rapid growth among Hispanics and Asians. In 1990, Hispanics comprised 7.4% of Illinois population, African Americans 13.8%, and Whites 76.2% (**Table 6**). Reflecting the rapid increase in the state's Hispanic population, estimates for 1996 indicate that the number of Hispanics had increased to 8.8% and Asians now comprise 3.1% of the state's population (**Table 6**).

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION CHANGE IN ILLINOIS, 1990 TO 1996				
	WHITE	*HISPANIC*	*BLACK*	*ASIAN or OTHER*
Cook County	*-14.6%*	*22.9%*	*6.4%*	*6.9%*
Metro	*48.1%*	*12.1%*	*7.4%*	*5.4%*
Nonmetro	*2.3%*	*1.2%*	*1.6%*	*0.4%*
State	*35.8%*	*36.2%*	*15.4%*	*12.7%*

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Estimates of the Population of Counties by Race/Hispanic Origin: 1990 to 1996.

TABLE 8. ABSOLUTE CHANGE IN ILLINOIS' POPULATION, 1990 TO 1996					
	WHITE	*HISPANIC*	*BLACK*	*ASIAN or OTHER*	*TOTAL*
Cook County	*-91,593*	*143,158*	*40,132*	*43,421*	*135,118*
Metro	*301,106*	*75,751*	*46,346*	*33,548*	*456,751*
Nonmetro	*14,266*	*7,488*	*9,728*	*2,390*	*33,872*
State	*223,779*	*226,397*	*96,206*	*79,359*	*625,741*

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Estimates of the Population of Counties by Race/Hispanic Origin: 1990 to 1996.

The most racially diverse location in Illinois is Cook County, where Hispanics represented 14.2% of the population in 1996. In contrast, nonmetropolitan areas are the most homogeneous with Whites comprising 95.2% of the population. However, even in these locations, the Hispanic share of the population increased from 1.3% to 1.6% by 1996.

Taking the state as a whole, Hispanics accounted for 36.2% of all the growth in Illinois (**Table 7**). In absolute terms, there was an estimated increase of 226,397 Hispanics between 1990 and 1996 (**Table 8**). This figure is slightly greater than the estimated increase of 223,779 in the White population of the state. Clearly, there is widespread growth among the Hispanic population in Illinois.

Further evidence for this conclusion is found on a map of the Hispanic population in Illinois (**Figure 1**). Large increases (in percentage terms) are evident in the collar counties surrounding Chicago and in non-metro counties in Western and Southern Illinois. Kane County is typical of the collar counties. Between 1990 and 1996 there was a 42% increase in the number of Hispanics, and, in absolute terms, this population grew by 18,026 persons from 44,670 to 62,696. Fulton County, in West Central Illinois, is a good example of trends in non-metro counties. There was a high percentage increase (52%); however, the absolute increase, relative to a location such as Kane County, was only 127, as the number of Hispanics increased from 244 to 371.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. We must, however, interpret these results with caution, remembering that they are based only on population estimates and actual counts will not be available until after the 2000 Census. With that caution in mind, however, there are several significant demographic trends that distinguish the 1990's. First, the state as a whole is experiencing fairly robust population growth and this growth is most evident in metropolitan areas throughout the state. Second, the resumption of population growth in nonmetropolitan areas is a very important reversal from the widespread losses typical of the 1980's. Third, all the evidence indicates the Hispanic population is growing rapidly throughout Illinois. In particular, local concentrations of Hispanics are evident in nonmetropolitan locations throughout the state.

Case Study: Anytown, Illinois

To draw conclusions based on assumptions or hearsay rather than factual evidence is a clear strategy for perpetuating myths and non-effective solutions. Cultural environments in transition can be environments full of hostility. Facts, knowledge, and understanding, on the other hand, can be the basis of an enriched, strengthened community setting. To understand strangers coming to a community settlement one needs to appreciate the facts underlying the migration, the characteristics of the population group and their special needs, and the advantages to be gained by supporting such population growth.

To develop a better understanding of communities with such new Hispanic concentration, we now turn to a case study of a rural community in Illinois that has drawn the attention of a number of Western Illinois University faculty and administrators in recent years. It was chosen as a site for a case study to document one ethnically homogenous community's struggle to adapt to a large influx of mostly Mexican immigrants. This community could easily be located anywhere in the Midwest. It is our hope that by combining the perspectives of several collaborators into one report, other communities undergoing similar demographic challenges might better respond to the changing circumstances of their residents and facilitate a positive integration of the newcomers. As stated earlier, the case study community will be referred to as "Anytown, Illinois."

Anytown, which was settled on a transportation artery used to bring early settlers to the Midwest, existed for almost eighty years before a county government was established in the late 1800's. Despite the advantage of its location, the county first showed up in the 1840 census when Anytown had 300+ persons and the county had nearly 3,000 persons. The county population reached a peak in the early 1900's when close to 18,000 persons were counted in the census and Anytown had a population of just over 7,000 persons.

It is only within the last 30 years that a Hispanic population showed up in the census for Anytown when fewer than 75 persons were counted. By the 1900's the Hispanic population had actually decreased 35%. Yet, today there are over 700 Hispanic persons in Anytown and the surrounding county area. The singular event that drastically changed the population demographics was the introduction of revitalized economic activity into the area. A new corporation came to town needing a labor force willing to assume the risks and limited pay of the employment opportunity. This employment need, which attracted a sizable Hispanic population, has a direct impact on the economic, social, and educational factors of the area.

In 1990, the population of Anytown stood at less than 10,000, a decline of nearly 20% from the 1980 figure. A major source of employment is the local meat packing plant, located on the edge of town. In the 1980's, the original company, which we will call Company A, closed the plant and many local workers lost their jobs. Shortly thereafter, a new company, which we will refer to as Company B, purchased the plant.

Company A paid its workers wages of $16 to $20 an hour and many locals believe that the union workforce outpriced itself by demanding such high wages. The closing of Company A prompted many of the workers, who were loyal to the company, to move to other locations to continue working for the same company. The loss of Company A, coupled with other economic hardships of the 1980's, had a dramatic impact on the town's population. According to the U.S. Census, between 1980 and 1995, the population declined by almost 17%.

Company B made many changes including reducing wages to around $8 hour and employing twice as many workers. However, according to community members, Company B was unable to find enough people to fill all the available jobs so, in 1993, they began recruiting Hispanics from Texas and other states. In almost no time, the number of Hispanics in the community surged from one family to over 700 persons. The number continues to grow with Hispanics currently making up more than 14% of the population.

Anytown, and the county where it is located, remain very economically dependent upon Company B and the approximately 2,000 jobs it provides. According to business patterns, 47% of all jobs in the county are in manufacturing and the majority of those, about 77%, are positions at Company B. On average, these workers earn about 40% less than the Company A workers did. Employee turnover is high as the work is both difficult and the incidence of workplace injuries is common.

The rapid influx of Hispanic workers has resulted in a number of local conflicts over education, housing and race. The local school district, which had very few Hispanic students in 1993 (less than five), had over 200 four years later (1996-97). That figure has reached 350 (1998). The increased number of children resulted in the need to develop English as a Second Language programs (ESL). Some long-time residents resented the development of such programs but the need for them quickly became evident to school district administrators.

The tensions came to a head in the mid-1990's when, during an argument in a local tavern, a Mexican immigrant allegedly killed a White man and then fled to Mexico beyond the reach of U.S. law enforcement. The incident led to further confrontations between White and Hispanic residents. Local racial antagonism was further fueled when a tavern frequented by Hispanics was destroyed in an arson fire. Further exacerbating the situation, a cross was burned on the front lawn of a local Mexican grocery store and the owner was forced to close the store after receiving several threatening telephone calls.

The local housing stock, comprised of many mobile homes and substandard houses, has been insufficient to meet the needs of the influx of new workers to this community. Many landlords were reluctant to rent to the newcomers and homes that were for sale were either inadequate or too expensive. In another issue tinged with racial implications, a new city ordinance to ban new mobile homes was proposed. According to the terms of the ordinance, existing mobile homes would be legal but any new development of mobile home parks would be outlawed. To many in the town, it appeared that this ordinance was aimed at preventing Hispanics from purchasing and locating mobile homes.

There have, however, been several positive community actions taken in response to the racial tensions. A locally organized alliance comprised of political and religious leaders and members of the community was formed to help promote better race relations. The local school district instituted a bilingual program throughout the schools and opened a new bilingual center to provide services to pre-school and kindergarten-age children. Although housing problems continue to be an issue, some Hispanic residents have purchased homes and are beginning to rehabilitate the formerly dilapidated structures.

The social conflicts in the Midwest are not confined to migration issues or strikes, such as the Caterpillar strike. In another struggle beginning to unfold, many rural Midwestern residents find themselves forced to take sides in a conflict over the siting of mega-hog facilities. With the meat packing facilities in place, large corporations have found sites in the Midwest to be attractive. Moreover, several states place relatively few restrictions on large livestock operations, making it relatively easy to establish such operations.

An Illinois county is the site of one of the most bitter struggles, as residents remain deeply divided over the siting of a 3,600 sow farrowing operation. The opponents of the facility maintain that modern hog production is not farming — rather it is the mass production of pork via factory methods. Since these operations are essentially factories, opponents argue that the same zoning standards that would apply to a factory should be applied.

Proponents of the operation argue that they have the right to use their land as they see fit. Moreover, they maintain that large operations are the only way that a family farmer can survive. Supported by large corporations, the Illinois Farm Bureau, many state and local representatives, and supporters of mega-hog facilities, argue that without them agriculture cannot survive in Illinois.

However, the Illinois legislature, responding to the concerns voiced by opponents of mega-hog farms, has before it a bill that would place a moratorium on the siting of new facilities and which would allow for local control of the siting of mega-hog farms. Whether or not this bill will pass is unknown but it does have widespread bipartisan support in both the Illinois House and Senate.

During the 1990's, the Illinois population stabilized. The growing Hispanic population is largely responsible for statewide population expansion and also plays an important role in contributing to the rebirth of growth in nonmetropolitan counties. Population growth is not without its stresses and strains; communities, especially small ones like Anytown, face significant challenges in dealing with new industries, new people, and new ways of life.

Although demographic fluctuations can provide a glimpse of the societal changes, a clearer picture of the tensions, adjustments, and solutions can be achieved by looking at focal points of community interaction, such as the schools. The purpose of this section is to reveal the processes and the characteristics of the changes that took place and continue to occur in the Anytown Community Unit School District. Our research focused on the evolution and the development of: the school population, academic achievement, the culture of the school, the policies and the programs, the administration and the staff, and the funding and financial shifts in support. We begin with a discussion of the changes on a district and building level. We will follow that discussion with an examination of the pedagogical and resource changes on a teacher level. The discussion also will explore a shift in the philosophical beliefs of the administrators, and conclude with some implications of the changes for teachers, students, parents and administrators.

The Development of the Anytown Schools

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, by the year 2050 the language-minority student population in Illinois will experience a projected 91% population increase in the greater Chicago area and a 141% growth outside that area (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The rural community selected for this study is a prime example of this trend. On the following pages we will tell that story.

In the fall of 1993, the principal of an elementary school greeted her first Hispanic student. He was a Kindergartner, the first Spanish-speaking student in the district and the first indication of a developing situation of changing student population. Neither she nor the staff was able to communicate with the boy or his family, yet they knew they had to do something. As she recalls:

That Saturday I was at the park with my grandson and I noticed a family of about five children there, and the man was speaking to them in Spanish, but then he spoke to me in English. So, then I realized he was bilingual. I started a conversation with him and asked him if he was employed. He was an unemployed welder at the time. I asked him if he would be interested in a job translating for us at the school. He said "yes" and he was there on Monday, and he became the first translator for the town (Brunn, 1997).

The next year there were several more students. The staff handled them in the same manner as they had the previous year with one student. That is, the translator would sit in the classroom with the students while the teacher gave instruction. His role was to try to understand what the teacher was presenting and then translate that to the students. Initially, it caused some confusion to the Euro-American students to have a side lesson going on at the same time. Eventually they arrived at an arrangement that suited the needs of all the students. The translator and the students would go out into the hallway to continue the lesson once the regular teacher finished the instructional part of the lesson. As the principal stated, "It was an arrangement that seemed to work" (Brunn, 1997).

The third year the school had nine Hispanic students, and no bilingual teacher. This larger cohort of Spanish-speaking students required a change in the structure and the conduct of the instruction. The teacher who took the first Hispanic student two years previously was willing to take the nine students. Because the principal believed that both language groups had much to offer each other, she made arrangements to include several non-Spanish speakers in the class population.

...We went to nine other parents of Anglo students, that from their screening we felt were very capable and would probably not have any ill effects with the confusion going on in the classroom with two languages. We asked each of those parents would they allow their child to be in that classroom and that what we would try to do would be to teach some Spanish vocabulary to the Anglo students (Brunn, 1997).

The community's first bilingual classroom was established and the parents who agreed to participate gave their strong support for the new classroom. The principal enlisted a young bilingual woman to work with the teacher since the original translator left the position. The new aide not only assisted the classroom teacher but also translated letters to the Hispanic parents and was the primary conduit for the home-school communication.

Since those slow beginnings, the situation has changed dramatically. In 1996, the principal asked the superintendent to hire a bilingual coordinator for the district. When she joined the staff, a new pre-Kindergarten was started. Although it was located several miles outside of town, it was the only school reasonably nearby that had any room to accommodate a new classroom. That summer the district held a summer school. One of their agenda items was to conduct an unofficial census to determine how many other Hispanic children were in the scattered community. That fall, the bilingual coordinator began the pre-Kindergarten class with nine students, eventually teaching over 20 students by early spring. The district struck an agreement with an underused nursing home to take over the facilities. Twelve days after the last senior citizen departed, the new pre-Kindergarten center was in operation.

Preschoolers at the new school study in their newly remodeled building, surrounded by trees and a fenced-in playground. Because the building was formerly a home for the elderly, it came equipped with bathrooms in every room, a large cafeteria and kitchen, a smaller kitchen area for preparing snacks, and large windows in every room. There is one certified teacher and aide for every 20 children; the teachers are Spanish-speaking, as are some of the classroom aides. This year they have 33 pre-Kindergarten students constituting three half-day classes and an all-day Kindergarten class of Hispanic students.

These rapidly changing demographics necessitated new programs, policies, facilities and staff. In response, the principal began to gather information about second-language acquisition, and about bilingual instruction.

When we started working with Hispanic students it was a whole new field that I needed a lot of information about because the first thing that was happening was conflicting views on, "Do we immerse the students? Do we teach them the concepts in their home language? When do we transition? How do we do this?" And so, at least from my... courses [in graduate school] I had places to go to find information and I spent a year reading everything I could get my hands on and I have a huge folder with that information (Brunn, 1997).

She contacted state professional education organizations, the National Association for Education of the Young Child, and state agencies that dealt with bilingual programs. From the information and the ideas sent to her, she began to form an understanding of the complex issues surrounding second language acquisition and English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction. Citing the linguistic theories of Cummins and Krashen, she recalled that she "felt an obligation to protect the children that are in my buildings; to do it the right way" (Brunn, 1997). Indeed, the programs of instruction at her two schools are underpinned by theories derived from sociolinguistics, linguistic studies, and from current pedagogical practices. Not everyone among her staff holds entirely to her opinions and ideas. This is viewed as a healthy situation in that they continue to do research on the issues, to discuss the various viewpoints of effective language policies, and to gain new and shared understandings for the betterment of their instruction and their students. Although they cannot all agree on a language policy, what they do agree on is that they need "some serious in-servicing" in their district. "I think that's one of those things that's going to have to come from the top down, which is an administration practice that's discouraged" (Brunn, 1997).

The preschool program is funded by a variety of agencies enabling it to be offered free of cost. However, the school requires parents be involved in their children's education. Each family signs a contract stating that they are aware of the dates of all the year 's activities and agree to participate. They are also expected to volunteer at least twice during the year in their child's classroom, with the premise being, "this is the beginning of your child's education and you need to be involved" (Brunn, 1997). Furthermore, the faculty at the new preschool believes the of parents'participation will help children realize the important role their parents play in the school environment.

Parents are asked to complete a "Social Intake Questionnaire" that inquires about developmental issues of the student, the family's health and nutrition needs, the family's financial situation, and other necessary statistics. This information is then entered into the selection matrix. The questionnaire provides the school administration with a wealth of information that allows for an informed decision to be made about the children's matriculation into the pre-school. Given the continuing increase of Hispanics into the area, there is a waiting list to get into the preschool. However, every effort is made to accommodate all of the children.

After parents provide the information requested in the questionnaire, there is a local Unmet Needs Committee that helps families locate necessary resources. This service is well aligned with the school's goal of impacting two generations at once. Indeed, the Pre-Kindergarten Center has been very successful in doing just that.

A parent who spoke at the Illinois State Board of Education Pre-Kindergarten Forum stated, "The best program will fail for lack of a caring staff and faculty" (Delany-Barmann, 1997). Before his child attended the preschool program he wanted his child to either stay at home or with the grandparents instead of attending any type of school. However, his wife persuaded him to place their child in the program, and it was a choice that had tremendous impact upon his life. This parent, who was not college-bound, is soon to graduate from a four-year institution with a degree in education. His stated goal was to teach in prisons to "people who fell through some of the cracks I dove through" (Delany-Barmann, 1997). This particular parent noted that the principal of his child's preschool was a key person in encouraging him to continue his studies. This type of support is not unusual at the school. There is a Parent Resource Room that provides parents with books, videos, audiocassettes, and toys. Some of the themes discussed in the materials are related to discipline, communication, self-esteem, divorce, and single parents. There is also a computer available for use on-site at the school. Finally, the pre-Kindergarten Center takes an active role in encouraging parents to continue their education, be it at the secondary or college level.

One issue that continues to evolve along with the changing demographics and pedagogies is curricula and materials that fit their program designs. The extent and availability of new curricular materials and the development of more effective procedures is directly related to the amount of financial support available. Funding for special materials, testing, and Spanish and ESL programs is primarily available though a variety of grant-making agencies. For example, in the Summer of 1996 a Migrant Grant was written for the operation of a summer school, but the program was not placed. The seven preschool students in Anytown were to be joined with other preschoolers from other communities. The distances to travel were too great, so the program was canceled. In the fall of that year a small Transitional Program of Instruction Grant was received from the State. It supported a morning preschool program for 20 children, with several others on

a waiting list to enroll. At that same time, an ESL classroom was established in an emptied out storage room above the gymnasium of the junior high school. It housed grades 1-12 ESL students at intervals throughout the day. To date, grants from State and Federal agencies, along with monies from Title I, continue to support the preschool, the Kindergarten, and other programs in the school district. During the 1997-98 school year, the CUSD operated the following classrooms: two bilingual preschools, one bilingual Kindergarten, an ESL classroom for grades 1-6, and one for grades 7-12.

Another critical issue is testing the children to determine their proficiency in Spanish, English, and content knowledge. A fundamental part of this procedure is testing for perceived learning disabilities. The district administrators conduct a continual search for personnel and materials to test students. In lieu of formal tests and standardized measures, the district utilizes their bilingual certified teachers to informally make determinations of students' abilities and needs. One solution that proved moderately successful was to contact the former school districts of those students who came from nearby states. The information they received helped them to understand, to a certain extent, the behavioral conditions exhibited by a few of the children. Another tactic was to administer standardized tests using interpreters. Again, it met with moderate success, but as one administrator of the pre-Kindergarten center states, "if there is a problem, it needs to be addressed as soon as possible. If it's borderline and it's something that can wait, fine. It'll be there later if it's going to be there, and if it doesn't exist then it was a mistake. You're out a little bit of time and money, but the child's better off for the ones that you do find" (Brunn, 1997).

The Teachers

From coast to coast, teachers face many challenges every day, regardless of whether or not their classes are linguistically and culturally homogenous. However, new challenges are presented when a community receives a large number of students whose first language and culture is not that of the school. In our interviews with teachers, both in the preschool and in the K-12, teachers explained what some of these challenges are. Likewise, they also commented on some of their achievements and joys of working with a culturally and linguistically diverse student population.

The majority of the teachers are of European descent. They requested in-services from a local university in order to provide them with a cultural overview. The professional growth and insight of one elementary school teacher is highlighted in the following quote:

> *When [the university] came down and gave us a cultural overview and just that whole [faculty development] program. Even though it didn't answer all of our questions. We wanted quick fixes and I don't think now looking back we were fair. Because I don't think there is a quick fix to cultural change, which is what it has boiled down to. We were wanting that and we were a little disappointed, but all in all, those of us that came in with our eyes open, we gained a lot from that class. And we felt for a change that we weren't left out on a limb. (Delany-Barmann, 1997)*

This particular teacher, as well as many of her colleagues, has continued to participate in workshops and conferences that deal with cultural change and the classroom. For example, in the fall of 1997 and the spring of 1998 more than a dozen teachers participated in two eight week Spanish for Teachers workshops. Several have indicated an interest in an immersion type program prior to beginning of the 1998-99 school year.

In many of the classrooms at the pre-Kindergarten center and in the K-12 classroom, teachers have decorated their classrooms in such a way that recognizes their increasingly diverse population. For example, teachers have posters in Spanish, classroom objects labeled in both Spanish and English, and classroom projects that are culturally relevant. At Christmas, the preschool children made poinsettias as an art project; there is a very popular Christmas story in Spanish based upon that particular flower. Likewise, in May of 1998, the school invited a bilingual storyteller to present stories to the English and Spanish-speaking children. These are just a few examples of numerous positive efforts exhibited by the teachers.

Teachers are constantly in search of new curricular materials and this school district is no exception. In this small, rural community we observed very creative ways of acquiring and making curriculum material. For example, during the 97-98 school year, the Mexican Consulate donated 500 books to Anytown Community Unit School District (CUSD). Donations such as this are the result of the efforts of some very energetic people working in the CUSD who take the time to pursue such avenues.

We also observed teachers in the Spanish for Teachers Workshops creating meaningful materials for their classrooms. For example, one teacher created a bilingual alphabet book with her children. That book now forms part of her classroom resources. Another teacher wrote a bilingual book (with the help of a native speaker) about a childhood experience. She also taped this book (in both languages) so that it is available in the students'listening center. The students are then encouraged to create their own books. As stated by the parent earlier in this paper, "The best program will fail for lack of a caring staff and faculty" (Delany-Barmann, 1997). The notion of caring is clearly exhibited in the following quote:

> *I want them to feel confident and comfortable. I want them to be able, well this is really not just for [the Spanish-speaking students] it's for all kids, to feel like they always have something to offer, whether it's through their native language or what's going on. I don't care what it is. I want them to feel like they have something to contribute to any situation they are in. I want them to feel comfortable and wanted. And I want them to feel good that they can go on to the next grade and know they can have success. That's all I want. Grade level tags and all that stuff, I could really care less. I just want them to know that they are a part and can contribute and are going to see some success. (Delany-Barmann, 1997)*

Philosophical Shifts

In the beginning, the staff and administrators were taken totally off guard by the influx of migrant families and their school age children. The rapidly changing population in the schools necessitated immediate actions. Frequently, what was determined appropriate was based more on intuition and experience than on carefully researched methods and pedagogies. As human, material and financial resources arrived, clarity was brought to many of their questions and practices. How to teach language minority children continues to occupy their ongoing concerns. They began with a transition program that attempted to move Spanish-speaking children into the mainstream cohort of English-speaking students. As they researched, talked, listened to informed authorities, asked questions of themselves and others, and gained new knowledge and understanding of language acquisition for non-native speakers, they made a gradual shift in how they structured and conducted their schools. Following a recent conference in Chicago on dual language programs, and after much thought and discussion, they are refining their program and the structure of how they do school. In the fall of 1998, they plan to begin a dual language program, with looping, with the Spanish speaking Kindergarten class. Teachers are willing to try this concept and, in fact, are eager to begin. The one thing they would like, but cannot have, are the experiences of others who have already traveled a similar path as Anytown. The lack of information has not kept them from proceeding with what they believe is best for the children, however. One school official sums it up this way:

> *We still have things that catch us out of the blue, like the report card, but we know how to take care of it. In the beginning we didn't know how to take care of it. We didn't know what to do. We just had a problem, but we didn't have solutions. Now we have resources and we have solutions, and it might take us a day or two, but I don't think we are really just baffled anymore. Still, the referrals for Special Ed are a problem. That's a major issue for us to resolve, in my opinion. But, on a day-to-day basis I think we are doing really well. I really do... And of course this year the success story is, you know, we had a grant from pre-K that recognized all of the issues, and we are doing fine, now. But, it was hard to get [the State] to understand this really is happening in rural Illinois. This really is. I don't think there's anyone that doubts it now. (Brunn, 1997)*

A great deal of research has demonstrated that the ability to develop academically and cognitively in ones' first language often has positive effects on second language schooling (Bialystok, 1991; Collier, 1989, 1992, 1995; García, 1994; Genesse, 1987, 1994). The preschool has taken this research to heart and developed a program that will allow the Spanish-speaking preschoolers to develop their first language skills, thus increasing the likelihood of success in the students' future second language schooling.

The philosophy of this preschool's program is one that strives to develop a love for learning, a positive self-concept, and a direct connection between home and school. The focus of the students' growth is on the process of learning rather than the product of learning. Children at the school are encouraged to experiment, be curious, and actively participate in the educational process. Phelan, Locke-Davidson, and Thanh Cao (1992) found, in their research on students' views of teaching and learning, that students wanted the following characteristics present in their classroom: (1) classrooms of car-

ing communities where they felt safe and respected; (2) active, rather than passive, learning; (3) a reliance on teachers rather than textbooks for learning; (4) to work in small groups; and (5) an environment where differences were valued rather than feared. The programs being implemented in Anytown exhibit such characteristics.

The implications for teachers and administrators are clear. Those who choose to attend to the shifting population are focused on their beliefs in student-centered education. If schools are to serve our pluralistic society and our children, like the migrants they must remain in constant flux, responding to the changes that are a fundamental part of our social, linguistic and cultural heritage. The rural demographic changes that Illinois is currently experiencing, and will continue to experience, create the need for rural school districts to address new pedagogical challenges. These pedagogical challenges are embedded in a mosaic of others. The following are some of the pressing issues that we feel must be examined and addressed: (1) bilingual faculty to work with the Hispanic students; (2) physical facilities to house the needed extra programs; (3) in-service training for faculty; (4) parental involvement; and (5) acquisition of curriculum materials.

Anytown: A Community Undergoing Rapid Change

During the 1920's and 1930's Anytown had a reputation of being a rough town with many bars and gambling establishments. During those times, it became a hunting retreat-area for the rich. It also developed the reputation of being a racist town. Some locals remember when African Americans passing through were warned to leave town before nightfall. The racist reputation has stuck with this community so much that other minority groups, beside Hispanics, have refused to live there and instead choose to commute from larger cities to work at local establishments. On the other hand, many Hispanics may have chosen to live in Anytown because they too come from small towns and are attracted to the less intense lifestyles of such places.

First Impressions

A number of community leaders and town residents were interviewed including representatives from the religious, political, business, educational, and public service sectors. While their identities are not given, their opinions and beliefs are stated in the following pages. Community members are glad Company B located in their town and are happy that it provides so many jobs. However, when Company B began hiring Hispanic workers, many in the community did not approve. Some older White residents felt afraid when Hispanics walked past their homes at night while others questioned why Company B should employ aliens in the United States who were unable to get jobs in their home countries. Still others enjoyed seeing the Hispanic people but didn't want them to live in their neighborhood. One resident who had lived in the community almost 50 years felt that many in the older White crowd resented the influx of Hispanics. Several community members stated that many of the older residents had lived in the town all their lives and weren't used to change. When change occurs, they tend to get worked up and say things. One elderly resident felt that racist statements and beliefs went unchallenged in the past due to the town's White homogeneity.

However, the White majority isn't envious of the jobs the Hispanic workers are doing. In fact, if any resident wished to work for Company B they could, but for the most part Hispanics are the only ones willing. The Hispanic workers, in general, appear content to work at Company B and earn $8 or $9 an hour. Many of them have worked in other manufacturing plants where the work was described as being much harder. One Hispanic stated that what four workers do at Company B is what one worker is expected to do at another manufacturing plant. Although Company B is generally viewed favorably by the Hispanics, it still has a reputation of being hard on workers and has a very high turnover rate. Some residents feel that the company initially had problems with worker compensation cases and, therefore, started employing Hispanic workers to save the costs of worker compensation settlements. Some town residents believe the injury rate at Company B may be as high as 98% – a rate not uncommon in similar processing industries.

Seemingly, there was more conflict between the Hispanic and White populations in the community in earlier years. Hispanic workers report that they received more harassment by high school students while walking around town five years ago than they do today, although they are still occasionally harassed. Hate graffiti can still be found around town, especially in an abandoned bank where high school students partied to the music of live bands. One White student stated that students sometimes got carried away during parties and spray painted the inside of the bank building. Today the old bank building has begun to collapse and it is closed off to the public. However, some of the graffiti is still visible to people passing by on the street. Although some may argue that the behavior of a few delinquents doesn't represent the feelings of the residents, others in the community aren't

so sure. One community religious leader felt that what children do and say is a reflection of what parents say at home and that a lot of anti-Hispanic feelings in the home are vibrating through all age groups.

In earlier years, frequent fights occurred in the streets between the patrons of the Hispanic tavern, and the local tavern frequented by Whites. The taverns were located on opposite sides of the street about a block apart. Some Hispanics also felt that, in the beginning, they were not trusted in the community and were treated like thieves. One Hispanic male reported being followed and watched in the local Wal-Mart when he went to try on shoes.

The Incident

As reported earlier, an incident occurred that sparked hostilities and racism. A Hispanic man was living with a White woman, inciting the woman's ex-husband and his friends to repeatedly assault the Hispanic boyfriend. The Hispanic man retaliated by encountering the group at the Hispanic bar and, allegedly, shooting at the ex-husband. The shot missed the ex-husband but killed one of the ex-husband's friends who had been involved in the altercation. The Hispanic man fled to Mexico within hours. Incidentally, the ex-husband died a few days later in an unrelated auto accident. The Hispanic fugitive was arrested in Mexico, but was not extradited to the United States since the U.S. does not currently have an extradition treaty with Mexico.

The fact that the man was never subject to American justice angered many people and promoted hostility towards the Hispanic community. The owners of the Hispanic tavern where the incident occurred, and the Hispanic-owned grocery store located next door, began receiving threats. A cross was burned in front of the grocery store where the incident occurred, and many Hispanics were verbally harassed from passing cars and received threatening phone calls. The family that owned the tavern decided that they could no longer tolerate the situation and closed. About two weeks after the shooting, the building was burned in an arson fire. Ironically, the Hispanic bar had already moved out, and the financial burden of the fire fell upon the uninsured White woman who owned the building. Two men from a neighboring county were convicted in the arson incident and are serving 7-year sentences. The Hispanic grocery store continued to receive threatening calls until the owners sold it. Today the building still houses a Hispanic grocery store, albeit with different owners. The tavern is a gravel parking lot. Beside the arson fire, two people were also arrested in the cross burning, which has been described by locals as a stupid, drunken prank.

The shooting and subsequent arson incited the Ku Klux Klan to become involved. One local business owner stated that it was believed that a Grand Wizard of the KKK, living in a small community about 20 miles away, tried to portray the town as one besieged by Hispanics. According to residents, the Ku Klux Klan published some flyers and had a few rallies in the years following the shooting in another small town about an hour away. One White business owner believes that the KKK largely failed to attract people to its cause, and received little support. Although some locals believe the KKK is still operating, it has not been visible recently.

To respond to the tense situation, a united organization was formed by Hispanic and White members of the community in an effort to promote better relations between the two groups. This organization was heavily promoted by the churches and had several gatherings and speakers to promote unity among the populations. The first year after the incident, the group built a float for a local parade and operated a food stand at local festivals. More recently, the group has worked with the library and brought in a Mexican folk singer for festivities at the library. Although this united grouping was very active in the years following the shooting incident, it has become more or less defunct and no longer meets regularly.

Change

Many changes have been initiated to deal with this community in transition; the largest changes have been in the school system. The Superintendent was able to start a bilingual education program that, today, employs six bilingual teachers and serves more than 300 students.

A local college is helping to meet the needs of Hispanics in the community by offering English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. These classes are held in the high school and at the library, and several churches also provide space for volunteers to teach English. Although Company B donated $3,000 to this local college to help sponsor English as a Second Language classes one summer, it turned down a workplace literacy grant obtained by the college fearing unexpected, additional costs.

Several local churches have worked hard to better accommodate the growing population of Hispanics in the community. The Catholic Church and the Church of the Nazarene now offer services in Spanish as well as English. They also assist Hispanic newcomers to the community with their food, clothing, and housing needs. Interestingly, some people in the community have accused the Catholic Church of doing more for the Hispanics than they do for the White population.

The public library has also recognized the growing Hispanic population and taken steps to meet its needs. The library received a $1,600 grant to offer language classes for nine weeks. English was offered for Spanish speakers and Spanish was offered for English speakers. At the end of the program, the two groups were brought together to converse. Story time was also offered for children in Spanish. Grant money has allowed the library to get many Spanish books and tapes. According to one library worker, many Hispanics have obtained library cards and are actively using the facility.

Several Hispanic-owned businesses have opened around town to meet the needs of the Hispanic population. There are two Hispanic grocery stores and a tavern. Wal-Mart now employs two bilingual associates and sells products catering to the Hispanic population. There are also bilingual workers at the local grocery store and local banks. The town government has responded to the growing number of Hispanics by hiring a bilingual Hispanic police officer to better communicate with the Hispanic population. Today, many Hispanics feel that they are being accepted in the community and that the White majority has grown more accustomed to their presence.

Although it is true that many changes have been made and that residents have grown more accustomed to the Hispanic population, the Hispanic community and the White community remain largely separated from one another. Most feel that the language gap and the cultural differences between the groups cause the separation. Some of the services established for Hispanics have in fact maintained their separation from the White majority. For example, the Catholic Church provides a service in Spanish attended by Hispanic Catholics while English speaking Catholics attend the mass in English. The groups do not intermix very often. The separation between Whites and Hispanics has also made it difficult to provide certain services to the Hispanic community. According to one resident, a community resource center tried to help several Hispanic women believed to be victims of domestic abuse. The center was basically told by the women and their families not to interfere — that their help was not wanted. As many Whites in the community wish to remain separate, many Hispanics also may wish to deal with their own issues without outside intervention.

Concerns

The biggest issue still facing the community is housing. Housing is fairly limited, especially with the growing Hispanic worker population. Company B has tried to help by having a Hispanic employee that helps new migrating workers find housing. According to a local landlord, some locals profited from the situation by buying old and cheap mobile homes and trailers and renting them to the migrant workers, charging them per person instead of per mobile home. The town soon recognized it was creating more and more substandard housing. As a result, the community banned the use of older and smaller trailers. Still, according to some locals, a few landlords continue to charge per person instead of per facility, lodging as many people as possible in one unit. Racial exclusion has made it more difficult for Hispanic workers to find suitable housing. For example, a local landlord received calls from neighbors expressing their disdain for Hispanics and asking that they not rent homes to Hispanics. A number of Hispanics have purchased homes and repaired the aging structures. Local residents, while happy to see the old houses fixed up, are often displeased with the Hispanic owner's choice of paint color preferring more subtle tones. One idea for quick expansion of housing was to build a trailer court accommodating the larger, more expensive mobile homes costing in excess of $40,000. Some believed this court could attract more affluent people which would free up older housing for newcomers. However, the idea was voted down by the City Council. One resident believes the mobile home park proposal was rejected primarily because the council feared it would attract more Hispanic workers.

Another concern expressed by community members was that, since Anytown does not have "911" emergency service, the newer residents might not know how to contact the appropriate services in an emergency. Many Hispanics currently lack the English needed to communicate with the local fire department and the fire department has not made much effort to address the situation. Luckily, no tragedies have yet occurred. Once a Hispanic family brought a choking baby to the police station and the police were able to provide the necessary assistance.

Some residents are concerned that many Hispanics remain unaware of the laws of the United States. The problem has manifested itself mainly in Hispanics driving without auto insurance. According to one resident, some Hispanics know that it is less costly to be caught once without insurance and pay a $100 fine in court with proof of newly purchased insurance, than it would be to be insured from the start. Some residents also believe that many Hispanics do not understand the strict drinking and driving laws that exist in the United States.

One local leader feels that Company B is not preparing Hispanic workers for life in the northern United States and that it should provide more information to their potential workers when recruiting in the southern states or Mexico. According to local leaders, when Company B began hiring Hispanics, many workers showed up with no winter clothing, literally arriving with nothing more than the clothing on their backs. However, according to one community leader, the situation has improved over the years and now workers are arriving better prepared. Some local leaders believe that the small loan that Company B provides to its workers is not enough for Hispanic families to get settled. After paying the first month's rent and a security deposit, there is no money for food and clothing. More funding is needed to help Hispanic families in the transition process.

Some locals feel that Company B and other plants seeking non-local labor exploit Hispanic workers. Many Hispanics feel that Company B treats legal residents and English-speaking Hispanics better than they treat non-English speakers. According to one Hispanic former worker, non-resident workers are reminded that they could be sent back to Mexico at any time. Another Hispanic former employee said that some Hispanic workers feel that trainers and supervisors favor the White workers and that the Hispanics have to work harder than the Whites. Several White residents have expressed the belief that many Hispanics are unaware of workers' compensation, which is a major concern since jobs in the industry are high risk and involve repetitive movements. One business owner knows of a business outside of the community where a Hispanic worker had a valid worker 's compensation case and was fired. Remaining Hispanic workers were encouraged, even threatened, not to file workers'compensation claims.

Another concern for persons living in a small town, be they Hispanic or White, is that there are few leisure activities available. The town does not offer much for young people to do when one excludes the taverns. The Hispanic population tried to organize a soccer league, but experienced little success. One older resident thought the Hispanics would be better accepted in the community if they had a star player in a sport more common in the Midwest, such as baseball or football.

Today and Tomorrow

In general, Hispanics and Whites feel that the situation in Anytown has improved, and that Whites are more accepting of the Hispanics today than when they first arrived. Most community leaders believe that the Hispanic population is there to stay. However, they do not agree that more should be done to accommodate the Hispanic population. Some community leaders believe that the community should not do anything special to include Hispanics in the community, believing that, with time, they will be accepted anyway. They point out that being accepted in small communities takes time and that, "People must earn respect in small towns" (Schabilion, 1998). These leaders believe that, eventually, many Hispanics will integrate into the community and that, possibly, someday the town might even have a Hispanic Mayor.

On the other hand, another community leader feels that more must be done to help Hispanics and to bridge the gap between the groups. Another community leader believes that the newspapers and radio station should play a larger role in increasing awareness and understanding of Hispanics in the community. Many residents believe a public education program could help foster acceptance of other races and cultures and end local animosity towards Hispanics.

Some leaders also believe the community needs new leadership, with forward-looking people in government. One leader said that, "Change is a very difficult thing in this town" (Schabilion, 1998). The leader continued, "some community leaders wouldn't mind returning to the 1920's." Although many residents feel that time will solve all problems, other community members believe that those in leadership roles must do more to integrate Hispanics into the community.

Most residents believe that, with time, the community will become more integrated as intermarriage occurs and as people work together. Many locals feel that this town will become like other communities with large Hispanic populations where Hispanics have been living for two or three generations and are now successfully integrated into the fabric of the community.

Although this community has had problems with racism, significant steps have been taken in less than three years to adjust to the increased Hispanic presence. Some locals believe that more must be done and steps must be taken to avoid future incidents. Other community leaders believe that only with time will the Hispanic population be integrated into the community. Although opinions may differ, almost everyone agrees that Hispanics will play an important role in Anytown's future.

The Hispanic Experience

This section explores how Anytown has changed. The information was obtained by interviewing Hispanic immigrants about their experiences living, working, and studying in the community. Also explored are the changing attitudes of the people in the community towards the immigrants. Some of the efforts made by community members (Hispanic and White) to improve the relationship between the two ethnic groups are highlighted. In summary, we addresses the core ideas that underpin much of the environment that members of the Hispanic community have faced since their arrival.

Focus groups and individual interviews were determined to be the best means by which to explore the experiences of the Hispanic population living in Anytown. Focus groups were chosen, rather than using questionnaires, to avoid introducing concepts such as racism, segregation, conflict, or discrimination in the wording that might bias participants' responses. Care was taken to allow the participants to lead each discussion with little interference from the facilitator to enable the responses to be accurate reflections of life in this community. The discussion topics in each of the three focus groups dealt with specific issues: the neighborhood, the employment sector, and the schools. To analyze the atmosphere of the neighborhood, Hispanic homemakers were invited. To analyze the environment of the employment sector, employees of the primary local manufacturer participated. Finally, for the school component, sixth grade and high school students were invited to participate.

In addition, an interview with a bilingual teacher of Hispanic origin, who was, at the time, the only permanent bilingual teacher in the school district. Thus, this individual was in a unique position to provide insight regarding racial relations between Hispanic and White children at all levels. All interviews were conducted in Spanish to provide a context and climate of cultural comfort.

The Neighborhood

During the discussion with the Hispanic women about their experiences with racial relations, all indicated that the relationship between the Hispanic population and the White population has improved considerably. Rarely have they experienced any form of harassment by non-Hispanic residents. According to the participants, at the present time it is easier to socialize with the residents of the town than it was four years ago when the first Hispanic families arrived. Much has changed since the Hispanic residents first arrived. New arrivals were frequently the victims of harassment, which ranged from insults to shattered windows in their homes. It was not unusual for recent migrants to wake up to garbage strewn about their yards. In an extreme case, an attempt was made to set fire to one of the houses occupied by a Hispanic family. But, as the participants were quick to point out, those days are in the past. As one woman stated: "gone are the days when it was necessary to move from one neighborhood to another in order to end situations of confrontation among the newcomers and members of the community."

Although relations have improved for the most part, there are still isolated cases of conflict. For example, one of the participants recalled a physical attack some weeks earlier when a group of White children harassed her while she was playing with her child at the public park. She illustrated that the children in question threw dirt on them, presumably because of their Hispanic appearance. The woman also reported that on a separate occasion, a group of teenagers did not allow her child to play at the playground in the public park.

This participant also stated that the windshield of her car had been broken and property had been stolen. She strongly believes that this incident was related to her ethnic background. Finally, following the murder of the White resident, several Hispanics reported being harassed by policemen. Now the situation is changing and relations with the police department are very positive. One woman who took part in the focus group mentioned not having had any type of negative experience within the community. Living in the community has been a good experience for her.

The interview group maintained that, recently, a mutual tolerance between the Hispanic and White communities has been growing based on collective work done by social institutions such as churches and schools. The people in this town are now much better informed about

Hispanics, and there is more community acceptance of the group. The group of women also addressed the important role played by a Hispanic leader who works for the school district and is available to assist them in any kind of situation, serving them not only as a translator but in such a way as to make them feel like integral parts of the community. Although, negative incidents are clearly less common than they were in the past, the environment is still not free of intolerance.

The Employment Sector

During the discussion with the Hispanic employees about their work experiences, all of them agreed that they would describe the community in general as a positive environment. From their point of view, they do not feel that management at the local plant affords special treatment or privilege to any of the employees based on their ethnic background. Furthermore, some of the Hispanic workers that had been employed through agencies were assisted by the company to find housing. Others had been helped financially with expenses related to moving from other locations in the United States. They also clarified that the company does not divide workers by racial or ethnic group in any department of the factory.

In terms of improving racial relations outside of the factory, there is little evidence that the company is concerned with the issue. The company hosts an annual festivity where all employees, joined by their families, come together. Thus, from the perspective of the participants, the plant is only concerned with increasing the human productivity of the company.

These participants expressed that they feel totally integrated into the community, mentioning the friendly relationships that all of them have with their White American coworkers/partners or with their White American neighbors. These positive relationships exist despite the fact that many residents blame the Hispanics for stealing job opportunities from the White community. The focus group participants concluded with a positive perspective of how living in this community will bring future benefits for all residents, Hispanics and non-Hispanics alike.

The School

It is at this level, however, where we found the most pessimistic point of view about the experiences in this community. Focus groups were held separately with children of sixth grade first and then with students of the high school. We discovered that almost all of the participants believed themselves to be immersed in an environment of constant racial confrontation. Although the sixth graders focused on positive aspects of studying in this community at the beginning of the discussion, once they felt more comfortable opening up, all of them complained about their classmates and the way they make fun of their Hispanic accent. One participant noted, "I don't speak English very well, but, there is not a way that you can make a single mistake - neither a word, a letter, or an accent. They will always make fun of you."

The children are frustrated, but have found a way to fight back without violence. The sixth graders recognize that the Hispanic student population is increasing every day and now they play only amongst themselves, no longer trying to be included in the games on the playground. They have been rejected too many times. They also have reverted to speaking in Spanish on the playground. Although they were ridiculed because of their use of English, the reversion to Spanish apparently angers some White children. The bilingual teacher says they have reached an impasse that is, at present, unbreachable.

The situation in the high school is not very different from that explained by the sixth grade students. The high school students described a situation of discrimination and segregation. Some feel like intruders. However, both groups of participants are reluctant to take action to change the situation or to propose possible solutions in order to improve the relationship with their non-Hispanic classmates. Only one participant in the high school focus group expressed an interest in knowing more about his/her American classmates and the need to change the negative attitudes of both sides. Finally, it is important to stress how students at both levels are aware of concepts such as racism and discrimination; both appeared during the discussion. "I always thought about racism as something very sad," a sixth grader stated. "Now I know what it means. I feel it and it makes me feel so bad."

The Hispanic Teacher

As the number of the Hispanic students has increased, the school district has been implementing important changes in the curriculum, administration, and infrastructure to meet the needs of the new students. Many positive programs have been implemented. In the field of racial relations, however, there are still many misconceptions and negative attitudes toward Hispanics students on the part of many White teachers that will have to be modified if these programs are to be successful.

According to the Hispanic bilingual teacher, some older teachers are still reluctant to participate in making changes that could bring about improved racial relations among the students. The philosophy of those teachers is explained with the following analogy: it is better to care about the growth of a dozen of apples than about one that is not growing very well. They are unwilling to invest time in the new programs or the struggling students when it means devoting less time to the remainder of the class. This belief does not mean they do not like the Hispanic children in their classrooms. Teachers enter the field because they love children. However, they are in a position of limited resources and have chosen the route that fulfills the needs of the majority of their students. Their unfamiliarity with the culture and language of the Hispanic students often leads to misunderstandings and resentment on both sides. As an example, the teacher explained a recent conflict involving, a Hispanic student, the child's father, and a White teacher, in which it was necessary to call the police. The conflict between the parties was solved, but the stigma of the Hispanic student's inequality problem still remains.

The interviewed teacher believes that multicultural education is not only the best way to improve the situation among the children but that it is also the key to awakening teachers to bring about social change and equality for Hispanics. By educating teachers about cultural differences it will be possible to change the structure of segregation, conscious or not, in which many Hispanics students are immersed throughout the country. As the teacher stated, "We only need to work together building bridges of mutual respect and understanding. We can do that. I am very positive about it."

However, this teacher is leaving the community to work elsewhere; during the interview the teacher professed to be tired of the situation. As a middle-class professional from a larger metropolitan area, he/she is unaccustomed to discrimination based on ethnicity. The teacher, who often feels harassed, is aware of the daily confrontations students and their families experience. This teacher is often the last one served in restaurants and finds negative editorials or articles posted in the teacher's lounge. The teacher hears complaints daily about Anytown's limited resources being used to help aliens and Hispanics stealing jobs from the town's White residents.

Despite this, the teacher expressed the belief that the circumstances under which they had been working had been a good experience because of the insight it had provided as to the situation Hispanic children face in many U.S. communities. The teacher stated that the relationship with the Hispanic parents and their willingness to participate in their children's education was rewarding. Equally rewarding was the progress, the talent and the performance of Hispanic students. This, unfortunately, was not enough to entice the teacher to stay in the community given the relationships with the other faculty and the community at large.

Despite the efforts of the school district to remedy the negative situation between the two racial groups, the information obtained through interviews attested to the persistence of structural racism within the community and a division of the school along color lines. There are, however, many enthusiastic teachers who are interested in learning more about other cultures, and this may well be the best way to close racial divisions.

There has been a sustained effort to integrate Anytown's school population into one community. One example of this effort was the school's celebration of the Mexican holiday of *Cinco de Mayo* (May 5th). It was celebrated by inviting the White community to enjoy traditional Mexican dances performed by Mexican students. The community is also working to satisfy the increasing demand for services by the Hispanic population. New services include radio advertisements broadcast in Spanish, products targeted at the Mexican population in local stores, and Spanish interpreters in banks, insurance companies, and health clinics. A hospital in a nearby city is also studying the possibility of building a new health clinic that provides free services to those who do not have health insurance or cannot afford hospital services.

Increasing positive racial relations between the Hispanic community and the White community will take a long time. The acceptance of, and respect for, culturally diverse people in the community is, and will be, a never-ending learning process that involves the whole community. It is a priority, however, to improve communication and cultural awareness in both the White and Hispanic communities to avoid misperceptions and stereotypes.

At the school level, it is also necessary, as one teacher recommended, that teachers, administrators, and parents look for ways to integrate multicultural education from an anti-racist and equitable perspective — not only in the classroom but throughout the district. It is necessary to address the needs of educators, Hispanic and non-Hispanic, that are responsible for instructing young people in such increasingly diverse communities.

Changes will not happen immediately, but by improving racial relations among children it may be possible to close the gap that has been quietly dividing them into two ethnic groups.

Conclusions and Recommendations

There are several lessons to be learned from this examination of Hispanic demographic change in Illinois. Although it would be possible to isolate the observations and to consider them separately, in truth one should not consider them in isolation as they are quite interrelated.

Central to the Anytown story has been an economic imperative. Without a strong attractive force, people are unlikely to move and resettle. Here we were not interested in forces that pushed people away from their homesteads because these forces were only small parts in the Anytown story. Rather, it's been the attraction of jobs, the industry's recruitment efforts, and the word of mouth of pioneer settlers that provided the dynamics, which unsettled the complacency of this small Illinois town.

A second observation might be that the smaller the community and the larger the potential new employment bases, the greater will be the disruption of the new settlers coming into the community. On the other hand, the more unsettling the impact of the many new settlers might be, the greater will be the positive economic impact of their addition to the community. Said another way, Company B, added value to Anytown by enabling an employment surge. As such, Company B is a positive dynamic, not a negative dynamic, in this story. Anytown, without employment opportunities, would soon be Emptytown. Economic necessities may empower change but the change experienced will always be most noticed and most impacting when the community is small and the addition of new people is large.

The analysis takes on a special emphasis when the persons recruited to meet an employment need are easily identified as non-native to a community. Difference has always been an ally of fear. Thus, if skin color, facial characteristics, stature, language, or any other easily identifiable difference sets a person apart, the characteristic or characteristics can be a source of rejection. When, as in the case of Anytown, many persons with identifiable differences appear in a community almost simultaneously, the community fear quotient most certainly will be impacted. And, if the community is small, the intensity of the hostility is proportionately higher.

A fourth observation is that negative community interaction will occur where person-to-person contact is unavoidable. The school playground where students are obliged to coexist, a bar where alcohol may reduce sober tendencies to avoid conflict, and a housing complex without a recent outside inhabitant are typical examples.

On the other hand, every community, no matter how small, will have individuals willing to reach out to welcome strangers into the community. Not always is it easy to know where these people will come from but, be they teachers, churchgoers, shopkeepers, fellow employees, or neighbors, they do exist and can be mobilized to help stabilize a community.

A sixth observation is that no industry, no city council, no school district, no church, or any other entity can, by itself, bring about the integration of an alien populace into a small town. It takes the efforts of many individuals and organizational structures. Preplanning can help; but it cannot assure removal of all fears, animosities, or suspicions. Time, education, and living and working with people from different cultures are necessary to help make them more familiar and accepted.

The lessons of Anytown are important, too, in being specific to a significant influx of a singular cultural group — in this case persons of Mexican and Mexican American origin. While the previously stated generalizations remain unchanged, there are additional observations specific to Anytown worth highlighting.

When an industry provides an employment opportunity that offers wages below the local norm or requires skills not locally available there is the potential for creating a targeted recruitment opportunity. Targeted recruitment will be most effective when directed toward a single potential audience. The non-availability of people with the skills or willingness to assume employment in Anytown made the targeted recruitment a necessity. The resulting influx of persons from a common source area demonstrates the power of the economic imperatives and not an aggressive invasion of strangers to the peace and quiet of Anytown.

Once a community equilibrium is unbalanced, one expects a period of tension until a new equilibrium is established either through use of force, the efforts of persuasion, or the achievement of a learned tolerance for living together. Only as people come to realize the commonalities of human requirements can the passions and fears of perceived differences be set aside. Anytown is an example of what happens when people are unprepared for the full scope of changes that must occur when the status quo of a small community is altered by a significant change in its economic base.

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